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ABSTRACT

The intent of this research was to explore the dynamics of race relation orientations among blacks using recent panel data from a sample of 52 black homemakers residing in 2 selected East Texas villages. Specifically described is the extent of changes noted during the 1-year study period extending from the spring of 1970 to the spring of 1971 in (1) the respondents' perceptions of racial prejudice directed toward them by local whites, (2) their desire for racial integration, and (3) their perception of the possibility for racial integration in the local area. A general and consistent change was observed for all 3 orientations toward race relations to become less extreme over the 1 year: although still perceiving high white prejudice in 1971, it decreased from 1970; the polarized state of the respondents toward extreme positions on desire for integration in 1970 softened in 1971; there was a tendency for fewer blacks to desire a high degree of racial integration; by 1971 almost all respondents perceived integration as possible in most social contexts, except the church. Other more specific findings were reported on change relative to specific situational contexts and suggestions offered for future research. Appendixes include a description of the study county, the race relations instruments, and the distribution of responses to "Perceived Prejudice" items at the 2 points in time. A related document is ED 053 828. (Author/HBC)

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A LONGITUDINAL STUDY OF BLACKS' PERCEPTIONS OF RACE RELATIONS: A STUDY OF VILLAGE BLACKS IN A SOUTHERN AREA*

William P. Kuvlesky and Katheryn (Thomas) Dietrich**

Abstract

The intent of this research was to explore the dynamics of race relation orientations among blacks using recent panel data from a sample of 52 black homemakers residing in two selected East Texas villages. Investigation of the respondents' orientations toward perception of racial prejudice among whites, desire for racial integration, and perception of opportunity for integration at two points in time, one year apart (70-71), provided the focus for analysis.

A general and consistent change was observed for all three orientations toward race relations to become less extreme over the one year: although still perceiving high white prejudice in 1971, it decreased from 1970; the polarized state of the respondents toward extreme positions on desire for integration in 1970 softened in 1971; there was a tendency for fewer blacks to desire a high degree of racial integration; by 1971 almost all respondents perceived integration as possible in most social contexts, except the church. Other more specific findings were reported on change relative to specific situational contexts and suggestions offered for future research.

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The Problem

A few months ago, we reported findings from a recent study (Kuvlesky and Cannon, 1971) of differences between small town and village blacks in their perceptions of race relations. The purpose of this paper is to report findings from a follow-up of the village respondents carried out to explore the stability of attitudes and perceptions about race relations.[1]

As A. Lee Coleman (1965) pointed out several years ago--and as we confirmed in the review of research done for the paper mentioned above--there is almost a total lack of empirically based knowledge about how rural blacks in the South face and react to situations involving interracial associations. Until very recently, Rural Sociologists and other researchers have found it convenient or necessary to ignore this important part of their seemingly legitimate area of investigation. In the past several years, however, some researchers in the South have begun to probe this problem area as evidenced by several papers presented at these meetings the last several years (Rural Sociology Section, ASAW Proceedings, 1970 and 1971).

As far as we can ascertain, there is no reported research on the dynamics of prejudice or perceptions of it among black populations (Kuvlesky and Cannon, 1971). Given the existing concerns, with black separatism movements and racial conflict, this subject seems a very pregnant and timely area for empirical investigation. How stable are these phenomena? How are blacks' perceptions of prejudice and attitudes toward interracial relations changing, if they are at all? This report explores data from East Texas village homemakers, contacted at two points in time, one year apart, that can begin

providing answers to these questions. More specifically, we will describe the extent of changes noted between spring, 1970 and spring, 1971 in the respondents':

(1) Perceptions of racial prejudice directed toward them by local whites.

(2) Desire for racial integration.

(3) Perception of possibility for racial integration in the local area.

Review of Relevant Literature

As was mentioned previously, no directly relevant reports of data on dynamics of blacks' orientations toward race relations could be found. However, some general knowledge has been reported on the nature of differentials in blacks' orientations toward race relations that should be useful as a context in which to view the findings reported from these respondents. The evidence indicates that among blacks, females have stronger racial prejudices than males, that Southerners have stronger feelings than Northerners, and that rural dwellers have more intense orientations than metropolites (Kuvlesky and Cannon, 1971). Consequently, if these generalizations are valid, the population we are concerned with here represents a group with some of the strongest and most intense feelings and orientations about race in the country--black women from the rural South.[2]

The Subjects of Study

The data for this investigation came from part of a more comprehensive study of the nature of black families in selected communities of nonmetropolitan East Texas. We purposely selected one county that was judged to be fairly representative of the predominantly agricultural, nonmetropolitan eastern section of the state that is pervaded by the traditional southern culture. This country was predominantly rural (75%), had a disproportionately

high rate of low-income families relative to Texas as a whole, and was about one-fourth Negro. A more detailed description of this county can be found in Appendix A.

Within this county, we selected two all-black, open-country villages as the universe for drawing our respondents. Our respondents were designated to be black homemakers having children in the household, not over 65 years of age, and not under 18 (unless they were the mother of at least one child).[3] In both communities, about 50% of the black households were screened as relevant for this study, and we first interviewed all but one of the homemakers in these selected units during June of 1970. These selection criteria obviously produced a study population unrepresentative of the total black population in these centers: the prime population segments excluded were males, children, and old women. Usable responses were available from 51 of the 52 respondents interviewed in 1970 and 48 of these people were re-interviewed (using identical instruments) about one year later.

A rather thorough description of respondent attributes and living conditions is provided in the Kuvlesky and Cannon (1971) report mentioned earlier. The following key observations will provide a sketch of the population involved. The two villages selected were all black and physically isolated. Their schools were "integrated" only in the past two years. The majority of respondents were part of intact families averaging about six members, with family incomes of less than $6,000. Few of the respondents had completed high school, and of those employed, most held unskilled jobs. Their average age was about 40 years and most were born in the area of present residence. County unit data indicate that black families are more disadvantaged than white families.

Instruments and Measurements

Three dependent variables are involved in this analysis: (1) perception of racial prejudice directed toward blacks by local whites; (2) desire for racial integration, and (3) perception of the possibility for racial integration in the local area. Instruments used to tap each of these variables consisted of multi-item inventories (scales)--see Appendix B.

Perception of Prejudice

According to Mann (1958:16), prejudice can be defined as "a tendency to believe that (a) some racial groups are superior to and therefore more socially desirable than others, and (b) members of one's own group are particularly desirable". Of course, prejudice can be either positive or negative and, according to Williams (1964:28), can be one of three types: cognitive, affective, and evaluative. The instrument we have constructed to measure blacks' perception of prejudice directed toward them by whites involves only negative, cognitive (stereotyped) prejudice.[4] Williams also cautions that negative prejudgments vary in inclusiveness relative to the target population (they may or may not include all segments of a particular population). The items used in our instrument specifically direct the black respondents' judgments to people in their local areas--"white people around here". See Appendix C for distribution of item responses.

Five forced-choice items were used, indicating stereotypes or attitudes towards blacks which are often held by whites: (1) "White people around here judge Negroes by the worse type of Negroes", (2) "White people around here don't like to be around Negroes", (3) "White people around here don't like white kids to play with Negro kids", (4) "White people around here never let you forget they are white and you are Negro", and (5) "White people around here think they are cleaner than Negroes". The respondents were asked to respond to the extent with

which they agreed that whites in their local areas held each of these by indicating a preference for one of four scaled options: (1) "strongly disagree", (2) "tend to disagree", (3) "tend to agree" and (4) "strongly agree". By adding the scale values of individual items (according to the numbers shown above for the response alternatives), total scale score was achieved for "perceived prejudice". Potential variation in scores ranged from 5-20.

Desire for Racial Integration

Desire for integration was indicated by six forced-choice items calling for an indication of the respondent's preference for interacting with "Negroes Only" or "Negroes and Whites" in the following social contexts: church, children in school, children at play outside of school, living in the neighborhood, "close personal friendships", and ownership of stores patronized. These contexts cover a range of degree of informality--formality in social relations, which had been found to influence racial attributes among both blacks and whites (Williams, 1964:253 and 297-298). A total score was derived to indicate "desire for integration" by adding scores of the six individual items ("Negroes Only"= 1; "Negroes and Whites" = 2). The potential range in variation of total scores was 6-12.

Perception of Possibility for Integration

Perception of possibility for integration was elicited by an instrument which included items representing the same contextual situations as those described above for desire for integration except store ownership.[5] The respondent was asked to indicate whether it was possible or not for Negroes and whites to interact in the five social situations specified.

Possible was scored "1" and not possible "2", and the scores were summed to produce a total scale score indicating perceived degree of possibility for integration. The potential range in scores is 5-10 (the lower the score, the higher the possibility).

Analysis - Findings

Perception of Racial Prejudice

At the time of the first contact--spring, 1970--the respondents generally perceived a high degree of negative racial prejudice among local whites (Table 1). One year later, the black females perceived somewhat less prejudice directed toward blacks by local whites, as indicated by a substantial decrease of more than one point in the mean Perceived Prejudice Scale (PP) score over the one-year period. Still, most of the blacks continued to perceive a high degree of racial prejudice in 1971: two-thirds of respondents still perceived whites to hold most or all of the stereotyped negative attitudes about blacks considered in the study.

The nature of the distribution of the respondents according to the degree of prejudice perceived also changed over the one-year period (Table 1). Considerable dispersion existed in both 1970 and 1971; however a clear change away from a tendency to perceive extremely high degrees of prejudice took place as indicated by the following observations: the proportion expressing the strongest possible degree of perceived prejudice (PP score of 20) decreased from almost 1/5 in 1970 to almost none in 1971; the proportion exhibiting a high degree of prejudice (PP score of 16 to 20) decreased from over 1/2 in 1970 to only 1/3 in 1971. It can be concluded that from 1970 to 1971 the respondents were generally moving away from extreme positions on the amount of prejudice perceived, particularly in reference to high degrees of prejudice.

Table 1. Percentage Distribution of "Perceived Prejudice" Total Scores by Year of Contact.

	PP Score	Spring, 1970 (N=51)	Spring, 1971 (N=48)
		Percent	
Generally Did Not Perceive Prejudice	5 (-)	2	0
	Low 6	2	0
	7	(10) 0	(10) 2
	8	4	2
	9	2	6
	10	6	4
	11	(16) 0	(21) 4
	12	10	13
Generally Perceived Prejudice	13	4	11
	14	(20) 2	(36) 6
	15	14	19
	16	10	11
	17	19	8
	High 18	(54) 2	(33) 2
	19	4	8
	20 (+)	19	4
	Total	100	100
	Mean	15.24	14.17
No Information		1	

Analysis of responses to the individual items reveals less agreement in 1971 with each of the items except, "White people around here think they are cleaner than Negroes". This general trend indicates that the pattern of change previously described for the PP scores reflects a change involving almost all racial stereotypes used (Table 2). The most extreme changes in responses to the individual items were observed in reference to the only two items indicating prejudice relative to interracial contact--"being around Negroes" and "children playing with Negroes". In both cases, about 20% fewer of the respondents perceived whites to be prejudiced ir 1971 than in 1970. The only item not following the general pattern of change noted above, implying whites think that Negroes are dirty, still attracted strong endorsement from almost all the respondents. The more detailed picture of distribution of the original responses to these individual prejudice items (given in Appendix C) clearly indicatesa general trend toward movement of responses from "Strongly Agree" (most prejudice) to "Tend to Disagree".

Desire for Integration

Although the mean DI scale scores suggest only a very slight overall change in desire for integration, the distribution of respondents' scores indicated that there was a shift in 1971 from the positive to the neutral and negative portions of the scale (Table 3): the proportion of those generally desire integration over a broad spectrum of social contexts (DI scores of 10-12) decreased from 41% in 1970 to 29% a year later. Perhaps more significant was the trend away from extreme responses to neutral (DI=9) and moderate responses: note that the two polar extreme score categories (6 and 12) both decreased by 10% over the one-year period. It can be concluded that the rather marked polarization of the respondents in 1970 over the issue of racial integration was softening by 1971.

Table 2. Summary of Affirmative Responses (Strongly Agree and Agree) to Perceived Prejudice Items by Year of Contact.*

Item	Spring, 1970	Spring, 1971	Change 70-71
	----------Percent Affirmative----------		
1. Judge Negroes by Worst	72	62	-10
2. Don't Like to be Around Negroes	70	50	-20
3. Don't Like White Kids to Play With Negro Kids	66	44	-22
4. Never Let You Forget You Are a Negro	80	69	-11
5. Think They Are Cleaner Than Negroes	82	87	+ 5

*Positive responses indicate perception of prejudice on the part of local whites.

Table 3. Percentage Distribution of "Desire for Integration" Total Scores by Year of Contact.

	DI Score	Spring, 1970 (N=52)	Spring, 1971 (N=48)
		Percent	
Desire Segregation In Most	6 (-)	31	21
	7	(49) 10	(54) 10
	8	8	23
	9	10	17
Desire Integration In Most	10	9	8
	11	(41) 9	(29) 8
	12 (+)	23	13
	Total	100	100
	Mean	8.79	8.56

Table 4. Preference For Racial Integration as Opposed to Segregation in Six Different Social Contexts by Year of Contact.

Social Context	Prefer Racial Integration Spring, 1970	Prefer Racial Integration Spring, 1971	Change 70-71
	Percent		
Stores (Buy From)	48	69	+21
Church	37	17	-20
School	56	58	+ 2
Children (Play)	54	40	-14
Neighborhood	44	40	- 4
Friendship (Close)	40	33	- 7

An examination of responses to the six individual contexts of social interaction will give some idea of the consistency of the general patterns noted above relative to different situations (Table 4). These are described by the nature of change as follows:

No Change

School: The population was about equally split on integration at both contacts.

More in Favor of Integration

Stores (buy from): A very substantial shift in those favoring buying from integrated stores over segregated ones.

More Opposed to Integration

Church: About two-thirds of the group opposed integration in 1970 and over 80% in 1971.

Children at Play: A substantial increase in the proportion opposed, but the group is still roughly split on integration.

Neighborhood and Friendship: Very slight increases in proportion opposed to integration. It is difficult to attribute much significance to this given the small absolute numbers involved.

In summary, the pattern of change over the individual social contexts examined was mixed. However, the 1971 profile appears to be pointing at a developing pattern of differentiation in attitudes toward the preference for racial integration in social situations calling for formal, impersonal situations (i.e., stores and schools) and for segregation in informal social relationships.

Perceived Possibility for Integration

The blacks changed less in their perceptions of the possibility for integration than in the other sets of perceptions studied. Again, however, there was movement in 1971 away from scale extremes (Table 5). The movement

Table 5. Percentage Distribution of "Perceived Possibility for Integration" Total Scores by Year of Contact.

	PPI Score	Spring, 1970 (N=52)	Spring, 1971 (N=48)
		Percent	
Possible In Most	5 (+)	54	38
	6	(88) 19	(96) 27
	7	15	31
Impossible In Most	8	6	2
	9	(12) 6	(4) 2
	10 (-)	0	0
	Total	100	100
	Mean	5.90	6.04

Table 6. Perceived Possibility for Integration in Different Social Contexts by Year of Contact.

Social Context	Perceived as Possible		Change
	Spring, 1970	Spring, 1971	70-71
	Percent		
Church	65	46	-19
School	100	100	0
Children (Play)	88	96	+ 8
Neighborhood	88	94	+ 6
Friendship (Close)	67	60	- 7

was most marked at the positive, or low, end of the scale; proportionately fewer respondents perceived integration to be possible in every situation specified. Nevertheless, the overwhelming majority of respondents perceived integration to be possible in most of the situations. This proportion increased in 1971 to include almost the entire village population--96% of them.

An examination of the individual social context items indicates that the black homemakers did not judge all social situations to be the same in reference to the possibility of integration in either year (Table 6). In general, the patterning of responses by social context was similar in both years but more distinct in 1971. There was slight increase in perceived possibility for integration in the neighborhood and in regard to black and white children playing together. The most dramatic change was a marked decrease in regard to the possibility of racial integration in church. In fact, by 1971 the church was the only social context of the five considered in which the majority of the blacks viewed integration as impossible. A slight decrease in perception of the possibility for integration in close friendships was noted, but a majority still were optimistic about possibilities for integration in this context. By 1971 almost all respondents judged integration to be possible in schools, in neighborhoods, and among children at play.

Desire vs. Opportunity for Integration

A summary comparison of aggregate proportions of respondents desiring integration as opposed to those perceiving it as possible in each of five social contacts reveals a relatively stable and consistent pattern of much more perceived opportunity for racial integration than desire for it (Table 7). A marked trend toward greater divergence between desire and opportunity for racial integration was observed in the case of "children at play" and, to a lesser

Table 7. Comparison of Aggregate Differences for Each Social Context Considered in Proportion of Respondents Desiring Integration as Opposed to Proportion Perceiving its Possibility in 1970 and 1971.

Social Context	1970 Integration			1971 Integration		
	Possible	Desire	Difference	Possible	Desire	Difference
	----------Percent----------					
Church	65	37	-28	46	17	-29
School	100	56	-44	100	58	-42
Children (Play)	88	54	-34	96	40	-56
Neighborhood	88	44	-44	94	40	-54
Friendship	67	40	-27	60	33	-27

Table 8. Summary of Nature and Degree of Change Between 1970-1971 in Desire and Perception of Opportunity for Racial Integration Relative to Five Social Interaction Situations.

Social Context	Desire		Opportunity	
	Nature (70-71)	Magnitude (Change in %)	Nature (70-71)	Magnitude (Change in %)
Church	-	20	-	19
School	+	2	None	0
Children (Play)	-	14	+	8
Neighborhood	-	4	+	6
Friendship	-	7	-	7

extent, "neighborhood". From this it can be concluded that there is a perceived deficiency of desire for racial integration relative to what is perceived as possible. Furthermore, this discrepancy either remained stable or increased over time.

A summary of the observations pertaining to desire for integration and perception of opportunity for integration by social context indicates that the patterns of change for these two types of orientations were not markedly dissimilar (Table 8): a marked decrease in desire and perception of opportunity was noted in reference to the church and similar but less substantial decreases in reference to close friendships. Also, in both cases there was little change in reference to the school. Substantial marked disparity in nature and degree of change between desire and perceived opportunity for integration was observed clearly only in reference to children at play--in which case, desire decreased and perception of opportunity increased. A similar but less marked pattern of divergence was noted for the neighborhood.

Summary and Conclusions

Summary: Patterns of Change

A major finding that cuts generally across all three race orientations of the black females studied here is that their orientations tended to become less extreme over the one-year period investigated. There was a tendency to move from both ends toward the middle in reference to all three scale measures--Perception of Prejudice, Desire for Integration, and Perceived Possibility of Integration (Table 9). The tendency for the group to polarize into opposing camps on perception of prejudice and desire for integration in 1970 was softened considerably in 1971. And, the rather extreme optimism about the possibilities of racial integration evidenced in 1970 increased slightly for some situations but decreased dramatically in reference to the church. The vast majority of the black respondents still perceived integration to be possible in most situations.

Table 9. Summary of General Changes in Respondents' Orientations Toward Race Relations

	1970	1971	Change
Perception of Prejudice	High	Moderately High	--
Desire for Integration	Polarized	Moderately Low	Slight -
Possibility for Integration	Very High	Very High	Slight -

Patterns of more specific change worthy of note were gleaned from individual item analysis of the inventories used for each of the three variables represented:

(1) Only one item of the five prejudicial items investigated failed to be perceived less in 1971 than in 1970--the one implying that blacks are dirty.

(2) Desire for shopping in racially integrated stores increased markedly, while desire for integrated churches and children's play groups declined sharply and desire for integration in close friendships and neighborhood declined slightly.

(3) Perception of the possibility for integration remained relatively high for all social contexts except for church, where it declined markedly.

(4) Differences between desire for integration and perception of opportunity increased in reference to neighborhood and children at play.

Summary: Stable Patterns

Given the general trends of change noted above, it should be pointed out that certain very broad similarities persisted in these orientations of the respondent over the one-year period involved:

(1) A marked majority perceived racial prejudice directed toward them by local whites.

(2) A marked majority preferred segregation to integration in most social contexts.

(3) Almost all perceived racial integration to be possible in most social contexts.

(4) Many more respondents saw integration as possible than desired it.

Conclusions

It can be concluded that perception of prejudice directed toward blacks by whites declined substantially over the one-year period but still remained high, that preference for integration declined slightly in general but that considerable variation existed in the extent to which it was desired by the respondents, and that little significant change occurred in the generally optimistic perception of the possibility for racial integration. Also, it can be concluded that the respondents as a whole became more moderate in their orientations toward race relations between 1970 and 1971. In addition, it can be concluded that the nature of the social context of interracial associations influenced the nature of changes observed in the respondents' desire for integration (or, conversely, segregation) and their perception of its possibility in their local areas. This contextual variation was clearly patterned in reference to desire for integration--integration becoming more desirable in formal contexts of association and less so in those normally considered as informal.

Discussion

Because of the inherent limitations of the data at hand, one must be very cautious about generalizing from the observations reported here on the dynamics of blacks' orientations toward race relations. The question raised by our findings are more significant than any general statements about the phenomena we might stretch our necks to offer. More specifically, the limitations are a small, homogeneous population and a short time span (one year). Still, the report is deemed of particular significance as a focal point for comparison of future sets of observations due to the total lack of empirical knowledge about historical change in blacks' orientations toward race relations.

Our findings suggest some very definite trends of historical change in the black homemakers' orientations over the one-year period involved. Additional

research is needed to test the validity and reliability of our measures with identical or similar populations located elsewhere in the rural South and to determine whether these patterns can be generalized to include other segments of the population--adult black males and black youth residing in similar places, other residence types (including metropolites) and blacks living in other regions. Also, we need to extend the period of time over which observations are made of the same respondents--one year is hardly sufficient to determine whether or not we are perceiving lasting patterns or just short-term fluctuations.

Our findings raise other questions which, hopefully, will stimulate future research of significance and relevance. What explains the variability observed, particularly in reference to desire for integration and perception of opportunity, among the relatively homogeneous respondents studied here: age, SES, past racial experiences, values? What accounts for the variation in the desirability of racial integration among different social contexts? Our findings appear to indicate that the informal-formal variation in structure of the interaction is involved.

Do we have a good body of theoretical and research knowledge about dynamics of racial prejudice and orientations toward race relations? As far as we can determine, we do not! Our observations point at some directions future attempts to meliorate this situation might take as a start:

(a) Why does actual integration or perception of its possibility decrease desire in some contexts and increase it in others? Why does this tendency occur in some informal situations and not in others?

(b) What other factors (independent or mediating) are involved in changing perceptions and desires? What kinds of exposure precipitate change? What contexts of interaction with whites produce positive and what contexts, negative effects? What of the effects of mass media? How much and what kind of change can be attributed to it?

(c) How much do changes in perceptions of white prejudice and of possibilities for integration reflect changes in the actual nature and degree of interracial social contact.

Obviously the answer to such questions will require a much larger investment of research resources than we have made in the past. Our own investigation is too small in scope and numbers to be of much utility in providing anything other than gleams of insight in reference to complex questions of the kind just posed.

The findings of our study, because they were gleaned from villages which are probably typical of many Negro settlements throughout the rural South, offer provocative suggestions of trends which may be occurring in this region of the United States:

1. Institutional integration (especially school integration) has not been accompanied in the short run by increased desire for integration in informal social contexts.

2. Segregation is still very salient in informal social contexts and is likely to remain so, given blacks' desires and irrespective of their positive perceptions of opportunity for it to take place.

3. Blacks' sensitivity to white prejudice--reflecting, too, their own prejudice--and concomitant feelings of hostility may be lessening. Thus, the violence which has accompanied integration in urban areas throughout this country is unlikely to erupt in the rural South.

The implications of such trends could have considerable relevancy for race relations theory and policy-making. The fact that there has been no comparable, empirical investigations to establish what trends exist demonstrates an abysmal failure of sociologists to scientifically address what is perhaps the most critical social issue of our time. The time has come when we can no longer excuse the lack of involvement in researching this problem area because of lack of administrative support and facilitation and high personal and professional risks. Valid scientific knowledge is a prerequisite to ordered, rational meliorative action. It is our task to build the knowledge base relative to interracial problems in the rural South.[6]

Footnotes

1. The Texas 1970 study includes other residence types but only the village dwellers were followed as a panel in 1971. In truth, the longitudinal follow-up was not originally intended and money for an extensive follow-up did not exist. However, because we had interviewers with ample experience (trained for the 1970 survey) still residing in the area, a follow-up on the small number of village respondents could be done with little cost. With little cost and little difficulty, we could at least begin to satisfy our curiosity about the dynamics of the phenomena under scrutiny.

2. The fact that our respondents are Southern, black females and predominantly lower-class would indicate that they should be more highly prejudiced on the average than most other social groupings, according to the literature reviewed above. It is quite possible that some more select subsamples of rural black women in the South might be more extreme than the population involved here. Certainly, poor black youth from both rural and urban regions of the South might represent populations with more extreme orientations and views.

3. The race relation instruments used here were piggy-backed onto a set of instruments on family structures, processes, and resources developed in collaboration with a number of other researchers participating in an inter-disciplinary, interstate study (NC-90) which attempts to discover family-related factors involved in the inter-generational perpetuation of poverty. The screening criteria described above were decided upon by this larger research group relative to needs of the larger study. The Texas Agricultural Experiment Station accepted responsibility for the representation of a sample of Southern, rural Negroes in the larger project. Other state Experiment Stations collaborating on this project are California, Hawaii, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, Ohio, Vermont, and Wisconsin.

4. This is a modification of a scale reported by Works (1961), which he indicated had high face validity. Perceptions of prejudice projected at a group by others is, itself, an indicator of cognitive prejudice on the part of the subject groups. Consequently, the degree of prejudice blacks perceive directed toward them is, at least in part, an indicator of their prejudice toward whites and has been used as such in past research (Works, 1961).

5. Store ownership was not used in the perception of opportunity inventory, although it was in the desire for integration inventory. Otherwise the social context items in the two inventories are comparable. Store ownership was added to the DI scale after the other comparable relationship types were decided upon as a test of its utility. Although we did not originally plan to use it in calculating the total DI scale, it did differentiate well--it was more useful than the school item in this regard--so we decided to use it.

6. Similar to most of our colleagues in the South, we take the position that Sociologists' greatest possible contribution to society will come from producing a better knowledge about race relations rather than from their own direct action in leading social change. For a different point of view, see a recent article by Norman in Phylon (1971).

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APPENDIX A

Description of the Study County

A significant correlate of the cultural type of the "Old South" is a negative attitude toward the process of school integration. The study county has clearly exhibited this attitude: One of the major independent school districts in the area was among the 46 in Texas which was still not racially integrated at the end of the 1969-70 school year. Only when threatened by a federal law suit (which it was almost certain to lose) did this district finally desegregate.

The study county is economically dependent upon cattle, broilers, and lumber. It is heavily rural, with only one urban place (i.e., community of 2,500 or more in population) and one other town of slightly more than 1,000 people. Though the percentage of rural residents has declined slightly in the last decade, still about 75% of the population lives in rural areas (Upham, 1971). Twenty-two percent of the total employed males are in farming, (1960 Census, Vol. 1 - 45:535), and 58% of the families have an income of less than $3,000 per year (Kuvlesky and Wright, 1970:31): these figures are slightly higher than would be typical in most counties of East Texas.

The proportion of blacks in the study county is 25% of the population (1970 Census of the Population, Advance Report on Texas General Population Characteristics:41). As one would expect in this area, there are significant differences in standard of living between the black and white populations. An overwhelming 79% of the nonwhite population in the study county lives in poverty (i.e., annual income less than $3,000 yearly) (1960 Census, Vol. 1 - 45:599). The occupational profile of the nonwhite population is similar to that for Texas in general: blacks are sparsely represented in the higher prestige job categories, while there are disproportionate numbers of black service and private household workers and black laborers, especially farm (Lever and Upham, 1968:106-107). Likewise, the blacks in the study county have substantially fewer years of schooling: almost 62% received less than eight years of schooling, compared to 43% of the total Shelby population (1960 Census, Vol. 1 - 45:513 and 590).

APPENDIX B: RACE RELATIONS

INSTRUMENTS

1. Perception of Prejudice Directed Toward Negroes by Whites.

Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: (Indicate the four alternatives to the respondent before reading the statements. Circle one number for each. FORCE A RESPONSE.)

(a) "White people around here judge Negroes by the worse type of Negroes."

4	3	2	1	
Strongly Agree	Tend to Agree	Tend to Disagree	Strongly Disagree	(A-20)

(b) "White people around here don't like to be around Negroes."

4	3	2	1	
Strongly Agree	Tend to Agree	Tend to Disagree	Strongly Disagree	(A-21)

(c) "White people around here don't like white kids to play with Negro kids."

4	3	2	1	
Strongly Agree	Tend to Agree	Tend to Disagree	Strongly Disagree	(A-22)

(d) "White people around here never let you forget they are white and you are Negro."

4	3	2	1	
Strongly Agree	Tend to Agree	Tend to Disagree	Strongly Disagree	(A-23)

(e) "White people around here think they are cleaner than Negroes."

4	3	2	1	
Strongly Agree	Tend to Agree	Tend to Disagree	Strongly Disagree	(A-24)

_____ (A-25,26)

2. Desire for Racial Integration:

If it were possible, would you prefer: (Read this statement prior to each item.)	Negroes Only	OR	Negroes and Whites	
	(Read this after each item.)			
(a) To go to church with	1		2	(A-30)
(b) To have my children attend school with	1		2	(A-31)
(c) Outside of school, to have my children play with	1		2	(A-32)
(d) To live in a neighborhood with	1		2	(A-33)
(e) To have close, personal friendships with	1		2	(A-34)
(f) To buy from stores owned by	1		2	(A-35)
				____ (A-36,37)

3. Perception of Possibility of Racial Integration:

Which of the things mentioned below do you think are really possible now where you live?

	P	NP	
(a) For Negroes and whites to attend church services together	1	2	(A-40)
(b) For Negro and white children to attend the same school	1	2	(A-41)
(c) For Negro and white children to play together outside of school	1	2	(A-42)
(d) For Negroes and whites to live close together in the same neighborhood	1	2	(A-43)
(e) For Negroes and whites to have close, personal friendships	1	2	(A-44)
			(A-45,46)

APPENDIX C

Part I: Distribution of Responses to "Perceived Prejudice" Items By Village Dwellers in 1970 and 1971

Table 1. Item 1a: Responses to "White people around here judge Negroes by the worst type of Negro."

	1970 (N=51)	1971 (N=48)	% Change 70-71
	----------Percent----------		
1. Strongly Disagree	8	2	-6
2. Tend to Disagree	20	36	+16
3. Tend to Agree	31	29	-2
4. Strongly Agree	41	33	-8
TOTAL	100	100	

Table 2. Item 1b: Responses to "White people around here don't like to be around Negroes."

	1970 (N=51)	1971 (N=48)	% Change 70-71
	----------Percent----------		
1. Strongly Disagree	8	6	-2
2. Tend to Disagree	22	44	+22
3. Tend to Agree	41	33	-8
4. Strongly Agree	29	17	-12
TOTAL	100	100	

Table 3. Item 1c: Responses to "White people around here don't like white kids to play with Negro kids."

	1970 (N=51)	1971 (N=48)	% Change 70-71
	----------Percent----------		
1. Strongly Disagree	6	10	+4
2. Tend to Disagree	28	46	+18
3. Tend to Agree	35	36	+1
4. Strongly Agree	31	8	-23
TOTAL	100	100	

Table 4. Item 1d: Responses to "White people around here never let you forget they are white and you are Negro."

	1970 (N=51)	1971 (N=48)	% Change 70-71
	Percent		
1. Strongly Disagree	6	4	-2
2. Tend to Disagree	14	27	+13
3. Tend to Agree	33	33	0
4. Strongly Agree	47	36	-11
TOTAL	100	100	

Table 5. Item 1e: Responses to "White people around here think they are cleaner than Negroes."

	1970 (N=51)	1971 (N=48)	% Change 70-71
	Percent		
1. Strongly Disagree	6	0	-6
2. Tend to Disagree	12	13	+1
3. Tend to Agree	31	54	+23
4. Strongly Agree	51	33	-18
TOTAL	100	100	